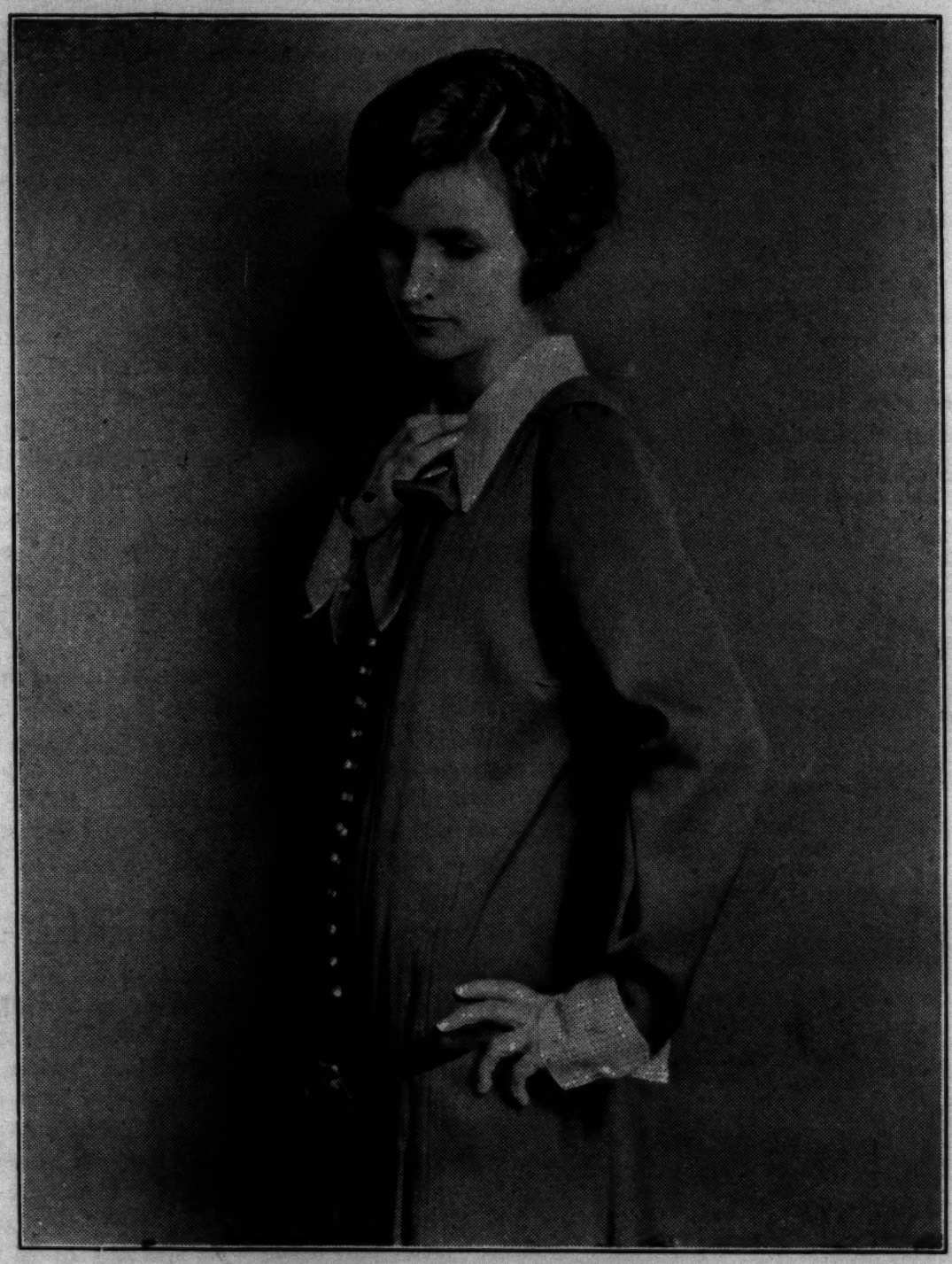
JUN 10 1937

Equal Rights

VOL. XX, No. 32
FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY
SEPTEMBER 8, 1934



Burnita Shelton Matthews

A well-deserved tribute, attesting to her outstanding ability both as a lawyer and as an advocate of the complete independence of women, was paid Burnita Shelton Matthews, general counsel of the National Woman's Party, through her election as President of the National Association of Women Lawyers at the recent annual convention of the Association in Chicago. Mrs. Matthews succeeds Olive Stott Gabriel of New York, who is likewise a staunch Feminist. The new head of the women lawyers of the United States is a member of the firm of Matthews, Berrien & Greathouse of Washington, D. C.

Equal Rights

OFFICIAL ORGAN
of the
National Woman's Party
Capitol Hill,
Washington, D. C.
Phone, Atlantic 1210
Published Weekly
at 19 West Chase Street,
Baltimore, Md.
Phone, Vernon 3279

Edith Houghton Hooker . . . . Editor
Emilie A. Doetsch . . . Managing Editor
Dora G. Ogle . . . Business Manager

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

Nina E. Allender
Zoe Beckley
Ruby A. Black
Lucia Chamberlain
Phyllis Duganne
Ernestine Evans
Rose Feld
Zona Gale
Helen Davenport Gibbons
Rebecca Hourwich
Ruth Hale
Inez Haynes Irwin
Ada Davenport Kendall
Muna Lee
Alma Lutz
Hazel MacKaye
Edna St. Vincent Millay
Ruth Pickering
Alice Rohe
Maryse Rutledge
Miriam Finn Scott
Doris Stevens
Sophie Trendwell
Brenda Ueland
Mary Winsor

Entered as second-class matter at Postoffice, Baltimore, Md., under Act March 3, 1879.

Subscription, $2.00 a Year
Foreign Subscription, $2.50

OFFICERS OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

Chairman National Council, Sarah T. Colvin, 1175 Davern Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Vice-Chairmen,
Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.
Gail Laughlin, Me.
Anita Pollitzer, S. C.
Secretary, Rebekah Greathouse, D. C.
Treasurer, Laura Berrien, D. C.
Congressional Chairman, Maud Younger, Cal.
Parliamentarian, Emma A. Fox, Mich.

Edwina Austin Avery, D. C.
Nina E. Allender, D. C.
Mrs. Dwight Clark, D. C.
Mrs. Merritt O. Chance, D. C.
Bertha W. Fowler, Colo.
Elsie Hill, Conn.
Inez Haynes Irwin, N. Y.
Edith Houghton Hooker, Md.
Elizabeth T. Kent, Calif.
Alma Lutz, N. Dak.
Burnita S. Matthews, Miss.
Lola Maverick Lloyd, Ill.
Mary A. Murray, N. Y.
Dora G. Ogle, Md.
Alice Paul, N. J.
Elizabeth Selden Rogers, N.Y.
Jane Norman Smith, N. Y.
A. Marguerite Smith, Mass.
Doris Stevens, N. Y.
Mrs. John Jay White, N. Y.
Margaret Whittemore, Calif.
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, D. C.
Mrs. Valentine Winters, Ohio
Maud Younger, Calif.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

Annual Dues	$10.00
Associate Members	$1.00
Subscribing Members	$3.00
Founders	$100.00
Life Members	$1,000.00
Endowers	$5,000.00
Sustainers	$5,000.00

OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 1]
[House Joint Resolution Number 1]

Introduced in the Senate March 10, 1933, by SENATOR JOHN G. TOWNSEND, Delaware.

Introduced in the House March 9, 1933, by REPRESENTATIVE LOUIS LUDLOW, Indiana.

What Is the Matter With Women?

ALL women should read the article in *The Nation* of August 15 by Marion B. Cothren, "What Do Women Want?" and be stirred to action.

Miss Cothren calls attention to the critical world situation as regards women today, to the heart-breaking appeals of women in countries where their status has sunk to that of the Middle Ages, to the appeals of women in other countries whose means of livelihood is being taken away in the name of the economic crisis. Then she pictures for us the deadly apathy of women, how they meet in convention after convention and do nothing but pass resolutions—resolutions which in the present crisis are as "sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal." She deals especially with the meeting of the International Council of Women in Paris, attended by 300 delegates from thirty countries, and deplores the fact that they spent their time passing resolutions on drugs, movies, broadcasting, prisons, sex hygiene, equal pay, school budgets, tonsils and adenoids, and the admission of children to barrooms instead of registering such spirited rebellion against reactionary policies toward women that the world would take notice. She gives them credit for discussing the time-honored subjects of suffrage and disarmament. She commends Lena Madesin Phillips for her efforts to get the delegates to endorse the idea of a woman's right to chose her own nationality. But this is small comfort to those who hoped that something truly vital would come from such a gathering. "The time was ripe," says Miss Cothren, "for those crusaders from thirty different nations to hurl forth to the four corners of the earth a ringing manifesto of women's wrongs and women's rights in this year 1934!"

This brings us to the question, What is the matter with women? What will break those psychological bonds which hold them in subservience? Many years ago Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who was a staunch friend of the woman's cause, wrote Elizabeth Cady Stanton that he was thoroughly discouraged with the attitude of women, that he was filled with wonder that the spirit of freedom seemed so nearly eradicated in them. "I had always taken the ground," he wrote, "that the acquiescence of the vast majority of women was like that of slaves, but observation has taught me that no such phenomenon is to be found among slaves. The acquiescence of women—for it is not an unwilling, coerced, dogged submission—is an argument hard to answer *for a man.*"

It it also an argument hard to answer for the women who are dissatisfied with anything short of full equality of opportunity. For decades a determined minority have fought magnificently, carrying with them sufficient lukewarm supporters to accomplish what should have been won in twenty years at the most. How many more generations before a mentally emancipated womanhood will develop? The burden of responsibility is on the mothers and the ideas they are instilling in their sons and daughters.

At Once!

IN the leading article in this issue, Jane Norman Smith of New York calls attention to the existing crisis in the affairs of working women. She has covered the subject so thoroughly that nothing remains to be said except to urge, with all the earnestness at our command, that members of the Party study the article carefully and heed the warning it contains, and especially that they act upon Mrs. Smith's advice that "all candidates for the United States Senate should be seen *at once* and pledged to vote against the resolution sanctioning the Interstate Compact on Minimum Wage for Women."

Another matter that needs to be specially called to our readers' attention is the coming Conference to be held under the auspices of the Eastern Regional Conference Committee of the Woman's Party, Saturday and Sunday, October 27 and 28, at the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Virginia. Arabel W. Clark of Philadelphia, Chairman of the Conference Committee, and Mrs. Robert Fletcher Hudson of Richmond, Chairman of the Virginia Branch of the Woman's Party, assisted by Elsie M. Graff of Richmond, have been at work all summer on the Conference plans and expect shortly to announce in detail the events of the two-day program.

It is just such conditions as Mrs. Smith describes, affecting women far and wide, that make it necessary to rally our members as often as possible for discussion of our problems and interchange of counsel and opinion, so that we can present a united front to the sinister influences that are at work to shift the whole burden of economic maladjustment to the shoulders of women.

The Background of the Interstate Minimum Wage Compact

By Jane Norman Smith,
Chairman of Committee on Equality of Economic Opportunity, National Woman's Party

FROM the beginning of the term of Franklin D. Roosevelt as Governor of the State of New York, the State Federation of Labor and social welfare groups, united in work with the wife of the Governor, were not slow to grasp the unique opportunity offered them to extend special restrictive labor laws for women.

With complete disregard of the protests of the National Woman's Party, of every important organization of business women in the State, of many organizations of industrial women and individual workers who would be affected by the law, an amendment to the New York law placing further restrictions on the labor of women in factories and mercantile establishments was put through the Legislature and signed by the Governor.

Just as at previous legislative hearings on similar bills Mrs. Roosevelt had made a plea—"Women are women, you know; they are weaker than men and therefore need special protection," so Frances Perkins, a former officer of one of the welfare organizations backing the bill and at the time head of the New York State Industrial Commission, appeared at hearings in her official capacity and urged the passage of legal restrictions on the labor of women. Her arguments were based on the belief that long hours are detrimental to the health, happiness and character of women workers—the same statement that was made by men leaders of organized labor as far back as their 1834 and 1835 conventions. The organizations opposing special labor laws for women contended that this argument would apply equally to men workers, and that legislation, if considered necessary, should apply to all workers and not to women alone.

In January, 1931, Governor Roosevelt called a conference of States to consider whether it was possible, through joint State action, to maintain and improve industrial and labor standards. Representatives of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania met and recommended a comparative study and further exploration of labor laws.

SINCE it had been announced that this conference would consider laws for "women and minors," the Committee on Equality of Economic Opportunity, in cooperation with the National Industrial Council of the Woman's Party, of which Mary A. Murray, a railroad worker, is chairman, communicated with our State Chairmen and with several hundred officers and key women in organizations of wage-earning women throughout the United States — especially in the seven States taking part in the conference—informing them of the danger to working women in this proposal and urging their coöperation in opposing it. Communications also were sent to the Governors of the seven States, setting forth the objections of women—and of the women concerned in particular—to any legislative proposal containing distinctions based upon sex.

THE second meeting of this group of States was called by Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania in June, 1931. Maryland, Delaware and Virginia were also represented at this conference, which, among other proposals, recommended more uniform State legislation for women and minors.

When the call for the second conference was sent out, the Woman's Party again reached the Governors of all of the States. Individual women workers, organizations, and officers and key women of wage-earning groups were urged to take action against this discriminatory recommendation.

Subsequently, Governor Roosevelt was elevated to the Presidency, leaving behind him in New York a Governor pledged to carry out his policies so far as special labor laws for women were concerned.

Seemingly intoxicated with power, the State Federation of Labor and social welfare groups announced as an immediate objective—"44-hour week and minimum wage laws for women and minors in every State"—women, as usual, being classed with children. These laws were not to be confined to women workers in industry; eventually, they were to embrace all occupations.

It was decided by these groups first to try to secure the passage by the New York Legislature of a minimum wage law for women. New York, they said, was the most important industrial State in the East, and if a law could be passed there, other States would quickly follow.

The Woman's Party, every outstanding organization of business women in the State, together with many organizations of industrial women, actively opposed the bill. In the end, there were two minimum wage bills before the Governor for signature, one applying to all workers for the duration of the emergency, the other applying to women and minors for all time. The Federation of Labor and social welfare groups refused to support the bill for all workers, and in spite of the testimony submitted to the Governor showing the ill effect, whenever enforced, of minimum wage laws for women in other States, the bill for women and minors was signed. "Some one," said Governor Lehman, "must make the start in the endeavor for concerted action, and I covet for our State this leadership. I believe other States will follow our lead."

Following the action of New York, five other State Legislatures passed similar legislation. This was accomplished through the power of the national administration. One State Legislature, it has been said, brought the bill back for reconsideration at its request.

By this time, Frances Perkins had been appointed United States Secretary of Labor, and one of the first press statements given out by her in her new office outlined a plan to secure uniform labor legislation for women and minors in all of the States. A minimum wage law was particularly stressed.

In January, 1933, Governor Ely of Massachusetts called a third meeting of the States to continue their discussions. Soon afterward, the General Court of Massachusetts authorized the appointment of a commission on interstate compacts affecting labor and industries. Other States were brought in at that time.

AT the time of the first conference, Josephine Casey, who was then engaged in field work for the Woman's Party, was sent to Boston and had a long talk with Governor Ely, in which she urged, on behalf of wage-earning women, that hours of legislation be based on the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker. She pointed out the lack of enforcement of minimum wage laws for women in States having them, together with the fact that, whenever the laws had been enforced, men and boys could be found who would work for less than the lowest minimum wage set for women. Because of that, women were thrown out of work and handicapped in earning a livelihood. When the third conference was called, the Woman's Party again protested to every Governor and urged its own State chairmen and other women's groups to take action.

On May 29, 1934, at Concord, New Hampshire, seven States — Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania—signed a compact providing for the establishment, by interstate agreement, of uniform wages for women and minors.

It is claimed that this interstate agreement is one possible means of carrying out President Roosevelt's program for na-

tional economic and social security, and that one of the so-called "social gains" of the NRA — establishment of minimum wages—can be made permanent through interstate agreements.

It is true that the NRA has attempted to establish a minimum wage, but one must bear in mind that the NRA codes apply to *all workers* and not to women alone. Even though wage scales for women are lower than those for men under the codes, by including men in hours and wage regulations, the principle of equality of opportunity, for which the Woman's Party and other women's groups have labored for years, seemed to have been established. The action of the administration is therefore very mystifying. On one hand, it has established codes embodying the principle of equality for men and women, and at the same time is using its powerful influence to create laws which would deny that principle!

If minimum wage legislation for women had been successful or had been generally, or even reasonably, enforced in any State, one might understand a program—mistaken though it is—to enter into compacts for the purpose of passing more laws, since wage scales provided through State laws are said to supersede NRA code scales.

However, in not a single State where these laws exist do women receive a living wage under their provisions, nor has it been possible to enforce them. In New York, attempts at enforcement in only one industry, in one city, have been futile and, in a way, ludicrous! Sponsors of the law now are proposing an amendment to make the law mandatory. Under such an amendment, an employer who violates the law would be sent to prison.

The Interstate Compact signed at Concord must before becoming effective be ratified by the Legislatures of the States parties to the Compact, and it must further have the sanction of the Congress of the United States.

The Compact has been ratified by the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts. There was introduced in the last Congress a resolution giving the consent of Congress to various States to enter into interstate compacts on matters affecting labor and industries. This resolution passed the House only.

In view of the demand for huge Federal appropriations, States at the present time are anxious to be on friendly terms with the national administration. Even if State Governors cared enough about the status of women to make an issue of their rights, they would have many reasons for hesitation before disagreeing with a mandate from Washington. As ex-Governor Smith is supposed to have said in another connection — "Nobody shoots at Santa Claus!"

For the first time since winning the vote, the women of this country presented almost an united front in demanding equality for women in nationality rights —and they won! To secure for women equal opportunity with men in the economic world is the most important thing in the universe to wage-earning women. If the United States Senate sanctions this particular Interstate Compact and State Legislatures ratify it, other interstate compacts which discriminate against women will follow. If that is accomplished, the United States Department of Labor will be in a position to claim—even though the majority of wage-earning women in every State is against it—that these United States are solidly behind its program for special restrictive legislation for women. Carried into the international field, action taken in the United States will have far-reaching results. The national administration has formally accepted an invitation to become a member of the International Labor Organization at Geneva. This action brings it for the first time into full, responsible membership in one of the great autonomous organs of the League of Nations—an organ that has been consistently opposed by Feminist organizations throughout the world because of its stand for special "protective" labor laws for women. Administration writers state that "America, joining the ILO, opens new vistas for world labor," and that her adherence makes possible an effort to raise standards in other countries. Experience with the United States Department of Labor in this country and with the ILO has led us to believe that the words "raise standards" have an ominous sound! When applied to women, they usually mean special "protection."

All candidates for the United States Senate should be seen at once and pledged to vote against the resolution sanctioning the Interstate Compact on Minimum Wage for Women.

It is also most necessary that State branches in Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania should know how their candidates for Governor and the State Legislature stand on this question and make every effort to prevent ratification of the Compact by State Legislatures. The vote has given women a weapon. They have power to secure their rights. Will they use it?

"Protective" Legislation—A Statement and An Answer

PHILADELPHIA Feminists are disconcerted because of the contents of an interview which appeared recently in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* by Eleanor Morton, well-known columnist, with Charlotte Carr, Director of the Department of Labor and Industry of Pennsylvania. Miss Carr obviously is an advocate of "protective" legislation for women, and her interviewer sympathizes with this attitude.

The article evoked an immediate and forceful reply from Ruth G. Williams, an outstanding member of the Pennsylvania Branch of the Party of which Sara B. Cummings is President.

Miss Morton's article reads:

One wonders why the young mother who's suing for the right to work in her own home, to support her two children, hasn't been given help through the mothers' assistance funds. But what is underlined in the story is the hardship inflicted upon single individuals by regulations aiming at benefit to all workers. It's not without interest that protests have been made, at other times, against laws which provide protection for women workers, as apart from men. The women's rights groups, which make these protests, insist that there should be no distinctions, even those designed to be beneficial; men and women must meet as equals, with rights and protection alike.

Nevertheless, I would not, for myself, want to have statutes established to protect women workers abrogated. The other evening I happened to meet Charlotte Carr, director of the Department of Labor and Industry of this State. She told me a little about existing laws to shield women in industry. No one can genuinely believe that women should refuse protection provided especially for them, in the dry color industry, for example, or in foundries, factories for nitro and amido compounds, and in all work with lead. The woman worker is of course more than worker alone; she may be the mother of the home. To protect her is to protect the future, the race. That men workers also be protected is beside the point. One must accept and hold society's acceptance of responsibilities to women workers, as that acceptance is given.

To me it was interesting to have a portrait of the Director of Labor and of Industry here. With Frances Perkins occupying a national job of the same kind, we are not so startled to find Charlotte Carr in her own office at Harrisburg. But a chapter in the change of national psychology is written when a woman is given the task of adjusting and maintaining the labor standards of her generation. To have Grace Abbott and Julia Lathrop before her, as heads of the Children's Bureau, seemed, not so long ago, an outstanding thing, a woman to hold a job of national significance. Yet it was a bureau which dealt with the needs of children. That was the inherent interest of feminine citizens. That rationalization made acceptance of Miss Abbott easy. However, there is a vastly different field to take charge of, when it is "labor and industry" which a woman directs. She must have the understanding of the intricate rela-

tionship of business, the world scope of manufacture and distribution, and with these understand both the aim of employer and the aim of the workers. That, we would have said without discussion is a man's job. Yet women are doing it, and doing it to the satisfaction of men. Be it underlined that even those who disagree with Miss Perkins in her national department of labor disparage her as "person," as thinker, not as woman.

Miss Carr herself is tall, handsome, impressive in appearance. She has a ready sense of humor, a gift of quick witty phrase, and the ability to see very coolly and clearly the essential justice in a situation, yet to see, instantly, the laugh that may be there, too. That's a quality, as I have often maintained, essential to all leaders, masculine or feminine. She told me, for example, the story of a woman who had held some job among a crowd of men workers for years. One day she was informed that she could not legally be employed, as woman, any longer. She was "protected" by law against her present work. She heaved up her huge figure, flung out her husky arms, and demanded who said she couldn't hold her job? Who dared to take it from her? The individual, I think I may put it, protesting against a rule for the group.

Naturally, Miss Carr did not wish to discuss in an informal conversation matters of policy, of reaction to debated economic and labor problems and methods of adjusting those problems. But as naturally did she feel the importance of all legislation written down to protect women and children in work, as well as men workers. Her sympathy with workers is deep and friendly, but unsentimental.

Before me is a book which gives the laws administered by the Department of Labor and Industry. Aside from the scope of the statutes it interests me to see the scope of work the woman Secretary of Labor administers. It cannot be quite possible for the layman to understand a job of State breadth. It may be worth while, therefore, to glance briefly over the laws for men, women, children, at work.

Let's limit the matter still more; laws regulating labor of women. These cover hours of labor, night work, time for midday meals, intervals between work-periods, provision for wash and rest rooms, lunch rooms, drinking water; they ask for proof of true working age, protecting minors under 21; that no woman shall work for more than six hours without rest; that cleanliness and comfort shall be provided whenever possible and to the degree possible. When you consider that this concerns every factory, store and office, and that the Secretary of Labor and Industry must have the skill to know how to enforce laws without creating friction and dissatisfaction, perhaps an idea of the work will be gleaned.

Needless to add, the big part of that work is really not with women, but with men. The majority of workers are men. The problems of labor and of industry, therefore, require understanding of the man's viewpoint. It is worth noting, then, that the two holding pre-eminent jobs in directing departments of labor are both women. Pennsylvania is the prince of States in industry. Her Secretary of Labor and Industry is Miss Carr. The United States is pre-eminent among the nations of the world in industry. Our national Secretary of Labor is Miss Perkins. Here are two who have history in their hands to make. Perhaps all that women ask when they demand to be seen as equal to men in the field of labor lies in their hands to prove.

In reply, Miss Williams wrote:

Apartment 510A,
Alden Park Manor,
Germantown, Phila.

Miss Eleanor Morton,
c/o *The Philadelphia Inquirer,*
Broad and Wood Streets, Phila.

DEAR MISS MORTON:

Your article in Monday's *Inquirer* surprises me and greatly saddens me because you seem to think that women need special protection and that so-called "protective" legislation gives it to them.

Miss Carr has evidently done a good job of selling but I think you may be interested in reading the enclosed booklet which presents the other side.

There are many men whose physical strength does not permit them to engage in certain occupations. We do not therefore pass laws forbidding all men to do that kind of labor. We leave it to the individual man to decide for himself what work is suited to him.

Miss Carr and Miss Perkins and yourself as a writer would not care to be told the number of hours you may work without rest, whether you might work at night and so forth. It is appalling that all women should be forced to live under the stigma of inferiority by the passage of laws limiting the whole sex in order to *supposedly* protect a few.

I say *supposedly.* Because these laws do anything but protect even a few women. They are conceived in the knowledge that the more restrictions which are placed by law on women, the less will be the chance of their getting jobs and that of course means more jobs for men.

The labor organizations are keenly aware of this and for that reason urge this destructive legislation for women. It is the perfect wolf in sheep's clothing. A more effective way of denying paid employment to women cannot be imagined and yet so cleverly is it clothed in the semblance of public welfare that it has tricked many well-meaning persons into backing it.

In your article you say, "The problems of labor and of industry therefore require understanding of the man's viewpoint." I am afraid Miss Carr understands too well the man's viewpoint and not enough of the woman's viewpoint. Miss Carr is a member of Governor Pinchot's cabinet. Governor Pinchot wants to go to Congress. He has played very hard for the American Federation of Labor vote and so has Mrs. Pinchot. He wants to pass social legislation and it is my own opinion that, all his remarks to the contrary, he will welcome an extra session in which he will attempt to have the Legislature ratify the compact for minimum wages *for women only* into which Pennsylvania entered recently with six other States. This would make fine campaign material with which to catch the votes of the uninformed. It would be sad news for the Pennsylvania women who must earn their livings and for all women who value their self-respect and their rights.

Propaganda for these destructive laws always assumes that all women are perpetually pregnant. And also avoids the fact that most women work harder at home,day and night, than men or women work in any factory. No one worries about the woman who does washing, ironing, scrubbing, cooking all day and then has to spend the night taking care of the children because her husband can't lose his rest.

If these destructive laws are necessary for the health of the race, why is it that exemptions are made for the benefit of employers in special businesses? The Bell Telephone Company maintains legal talent in Harrisburg to assure themselves that nothing will be done to interfere with their employment of women workers because they cannot get the type of work they require from males. Not much sleep is lost worrying about women cleaning office buildings at night. And there won't be until men want the jobs. You will find the restrictions are in industries where the jobs are sufficiently lucrative to interest men.

In New York they have a law which forbids the employment of women at night and thousands of women were thrown out of jobs when the law was passed. Many women prefer for one reason or another to work at night and they most certainly have the right to choose when they wish to work and at what occupation. I fail to see anything even remotely humorous in the plight of the woman mentioned in your article, whose job and living were legislated away from her. It is just as if Miss Carr should some day be told that a woman cannot hold such an office as

GREETINGS FROM PORTUGAL

The following letter from Sarah Beirao, Lisbon, Portugal, was addressed to "Madame la Presidente du National Woman's Party." Sarah Beirao is President of the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguezas.

"Dear Madam:

"It was with the greatest joy that we heard of the victory won by our American sisters in the matter of the nationality of the woman who is married to a foreigner.

"The National Council of Portuguese Women sends you its very ardent, sincere and enthusiastic felicitations because of your great triumph.

"Please accept, dear Madame, the expression of my most sincere and appreciative sentiments.

"The President,
"Sarah X. Beirao."

Florence Bayard Hilles, Acting Chairman of the National Woman's Party, acknowledged the tribute as follows:

"La Presidente, Sarah Beirao, Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguezas, Praca dos Restauradores, 13.

"My dear Madam:

"Your very kind letter of congratulation has given us all much pleasure. We rejoice that you rejoice, for we feel that each step for the emancipation of women in this hemisphere helps the women of the entire civilized world. Thank you and the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguezas for your very thoughtful letter.

"Sincerely yours,

"Florence Bayard Hilles,
"Acting Chairman."

"August 3, 1934."

hers—which is a fact in some States in our own country.

I feel that if you will read the enclosed booklet your eyes will be opened to the very subtle method by which women are held in an inferior position and deprived of the freedom to make their livings unhampered by discriminating laws.

You know a law that says a woman may not be employed at night does not guarantee her a daytime job. Therefore during the day she must compete with men who are legally free to work at all times, but at night men are not forced to compete with women for jobs. Of course night work practically always pays more, and is sometimes easier.

A law which assumes that women are so weak that they must have special protection puts a stigma on every woman and her ability. Women doctors, dentists, lawyers, writers, artists—all lose caste because they belong to a sex which must be specially cared for as children and the mentally weak. Miss Carr herself, challenges her fitness for her job by announcing to the world that she is the exceptional woman but that her sex as a whole is inferior.

"Protective" legislation for women hasn't a thing to do with protecting the health of women or their offspring. It is simply a most effective way of protecting jobs for men. But even if it did afford protection, women should refuse such aid. It is certain no class can accept special benefits without paying a high price for them. In exchange for a few namby-pamby laws about washrooms, etc., which are rarely lived up to anyhow, all women have paid in many important ways. Men have passed all kinds of horrible laws discriminating against women under the guise of protecting them.

Only when women refuse to have laws passed denying them Equal Rights with men, will they know what protection really means. Then they will get the protection men have always enjoyed. No woman in her sane mind can believe that the great majority of men would voluntarily grant to women anything of benefit. When men come carrying "protective" legislation for women only, the women will do well to have none of it. It just can't be on the level and the experiences of thousands of women in States where such laws have been enforced prove that.

I certainly hope you will give this matter some of your precious time and attention. There is so much concrete evidence against "Destructive Legislation" and only subtly planned sentimentalism on its side. Sincerely,

(Signed) RUTH G. WILLIAMS.

Feminist Notes

Votes for Women of Japan

Fusae Ichikawa, the Susan B. Anthony of Japan, and a leader in the Woman's Suffrage League, we are told, "needs a fat purse to build a larger headquarters—to provide her co-workers a little more space and resourceful nooks to sharpen their minds—in their endeavor to secure the ballot for the women of Japan." Readers of EQUAL RIGHTS are asked to save pennies and subscribe for *Fusen* (Woman Suffrage), the organ of the League, on condition that a bit of English section be included in the magazine — giving a glimpse of events in the women's world of Japan. It is suggested that, in addition to the moral support, such a plan may contribute to the ultimate victory of the women across the Pacific.

An Inescapable Duty

THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom is broadcasting the following "urgent appeal" to the leading women of the National-Socialist Labor Party of Germany:

"There is a certain solidarity among women which gives us the right to turn to the leading women of the N. S. D. A. P., since all our representations and demands addressed to the representatives of the Government of the Third Reich have been ignored. All women should be united by their common desire to help those who are eating out their hearts in suffering. As vice-presidents of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom we urgently beg you to demand, in the name of this desire, that an end be put at last to the cruel and inhuman martyrdom of those who hold differing opinions. The history of all peoples is, in a greater or less degree, a conflict over beliefs, but when, in this conflict, there is excessive use of brute power, then women have the inescapable duty to win back for their State the equilibrium that it has lost.

"In Germany, the leading women in the N. S. A. Party alone have the power to induce the men of the same views as themselves to recognize even their opponents as human beings. Do not let our appeal to this power of yours be in vain. The W. I. L. P. F. now turns to you just as, since the war, it has turned to the women of all countries where conflict and revolution have been accompanied by inhuman cruelties.

"German women, save the honor of your nation before the conscience of the world!"

Tennis Star Turns to Politics

AT a recent meeting in San Francisco which six hundred women attended, Helen Wills Moody, tennis star, introduced Governor C. C. Young who is a candidate for re-election. Temporarily, Mrs. Moody has laid aside her racquet to take an active part in the gubernatorial campaign.

Equality, Freedom and Peace

Speech made by Monica Whately, Prospective Parliamentary Labor Candidate for Parliament, before the Women's Congress Against War and Fascism, held in Paris, August 4, 5, 6 and 7. Miss Whately is Secretary of the Six Point Group, a leading Feminist Organization.

COMRADES, we are today facing a great crisis; perhaps never in the world's history have women had to face a greater. Country after country has been put under a dictatorship, which has meant destruction of the democratic machine. Dictatorship takes from a free people the right to rule themselves. Under Fascist dictatorships the political opponents of the dictatorship are thrown into jails and concentration camps; there they are whipped and tortured; there they may be held for years without trial, while their families suffer untold misery, and mental torture.

In Hitler Germany, men and women, for no other crime than that they have worked for peace, and have consistently stood against war, are being treated with greater hardship than the worst criminal. The workers' organizations have been made illegal, and while the dictator can lower wages, can increase hours, the unfortunate worker cannot withhold his labor, however intolerable his condition may be.

The position of the women under Fascism is infinitely worse, for they are persecuted as Pacifists, as Socialists, as Communists, as Workers and, in addition, are persecuted as women. Women are denied the right to enter the professions, they are being thrown out of all the well-paid jobs; for women under Fascism there is one job, and one job alone. Germany has declared that "there is no higher or finer privilege for a woman than that of sending her children to war." Comrade mothers, what do you think of that? Are you prepared to go through the agony of childbirth in order to produce more cannon-fodder for capitalist wars?

Where is your status in Fascist countries today? You have none, and you find it difficult, if not impossible, to fight for those rights which were yours—lost because of the dictatorship under which you now live. At a great Congress like this we must do something more than protest; it is for us surely to look for remedies. As we look round the world,

and view with aching hearts the path of reaction creeping on like a great serpent, we see before us one bright spot, one place in which, instead of reaction, we see creative work brought to birth. At Montevideo, in December, 1933, the Inter American Commission of Women, led by Alice Paul and Doris Stevens, secured the signatures of four governments to an Equal Rights Treaty. By this Treaty any country having signed "agrees that upon the ratification of the Treaty men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdiction."

Do you, comrades, realize what this means? Had Germany signed such a treaty before Hitler declared his dictatorship, he could not have degraded women as he has done without calling down on his head world-wide condemnation. And while Fascist governments are prepared to flout the wishes of their own nationals, they would think twice before incurring the ill-will of the world through violation of an international treaty to which they had been signatories. This Treaty has already been signed by four countries, and I want to ask the delegates to this Congress to go back to their respective governments and force them to take the step which will win for the eastern hemisphere what has already been won in the western hemisphere. By signing the Equal Rights Treaty we can do something to safeguard the sacred rights of women so gravely menaced today.

There are some of the comrades who will think that such action would be of no avail, but I would remind them that by such action we can hope to draw into our ranks that vast number of non-party women in all lands. I represent such a body of women. The Six Point Group is a leading Feminist Society; like the Co-operative women, they have within their ranks Conservative, Liberal, Socialist, Communist, and women of no party—we cannot afford to leave out such women in our great fight against Fascism and war. Through our Equal Rights Treaty we can hope to win those women to our side. Madame Duchene who has been such an inspiration to this Congress has always fought for equality between men and women, and we are proud that she is with us in our fight to get for men and women equality under the law, through the Equal Rights Treaty.

Comrades, a great responsibility rests on us who are still free to express ourselves. We must fight as we have never fought before, we must work as we have never worked before, we must live, and we must be prepared to die in the building of a new world. Women fought and died to win the emancipation of their sex. We must do likewise, not so much for ourselves, but for our children, the children who come after us, that we may leave for them a less cruel world, a world in which we have destroyed Fascism and war, and have left as their heritage equality, freedom and peace.

Press Comment

Shows Injustice of Restrictive Laws

The Bridgeport Post, Bridgeport, Conn., August 22, 1934.

WESTPORT, CONN., Aug. 21 — "If restrictive legislation is to be passed regulating a minimum wage and setting a number of hours, it should be for both men and women alike and not only for women," declared Mrs. Clarence Smith of New York, leader in the New York Branch of the National Woman's Party, speaking at the State meeting of the Woman's Party, held at the home of Mrs. John Jay White, Dogwood Lane, here yesterday afternoon. About 22 women, among them Mrs. Albert Levitt of Redding, attended the meeting.

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, formerly of Norwalk, member of the Legislative Committee of the Party, told of the struggle to have the Equal Rights Treaty enacted under the League of Nations and how the United States was the first nation of the West to ratify it.

Mrs. Weed informed the group that both Senator Wolcott and Senator Lonergan had agreed to vote for the Equal Rights Amendment at the next session of Congress—and urged that those present bring pressure to bear on their Congressmen after they are elected in the fall.

Mrs. Smith, in opening her talk, said, "It doesn't seem possible that in the year 1934 women would have to meet together to discuss the rights of women. Many people fail to realize that woman's position before the law is an inferior one. Women realized that they must secure the vote in order to secure their other rights. They wanted the vote chiefly as a weapon to obtain those other objectives.

Treaty Revolutionizes Feminist Strategy

The Norwalk Hour, Norwalk, Conn., August 22, 1934.

THE Connecticut Branch of the National Woman's Party met at the house of Mrs. John Jay White, Dogwood Lane, Westport, on Monday at 2.30 o'clock. Mrs. White is the State Chairman, and opened the meeting with a statement of the purpose of the National Woman's Party, which is to support and work for the Equal Rights Amendment, as follows:

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

Mrs. White then touched on the International work being done by the Women's Consultative Committee in Geneva, and also the splendid work done by Alice Paul and Doris Stevens in getting the Montevideo Nationality Treaty signed. Mrs. White then introduced the first speaker, Mrs. Clarence M. Smith of New York.

Mrs. Smith urged those present to do everything in their power to prevent the ratification by the State Legislature of the Interstate Compact, which provides for a minimum wage law for women, totally excluding the principle of equality. The compact was signed by labor representatives of Connecticut and six other New England States in May of this year. However, this law must be ratified by the State Legislature before becoming effective. Congress must also give its consent. The House has already voted in favor of it, but the Senate has still to vote on it. The National Woman's Party takes no position on the question of whether or not improved wage conditions should be secured through legislation. It does, however, demand that whenever legislation is considered necessary, it should apply to all workers, and not to women alone. If that is done, women will not be placed at a disadvantage with men in earning a livelihood.

The action of the administration and the Department of Labor which are sponsoring special restrictive laws applied to women, but not to men, through inter state compact, shows the necessity for the passage by Congress of the Equal Rights Amendment immediately.

Mrs. White then introduced the second speaker, Mrs. Helena Hill Weed of Norwalk and Washington. Mrs. Weed's subject was the Montevideo Treaty for Equal Nationality, and the five years' work that led up to it.

Reveals Discriminations In NRA Codes

The Oklahoman Daily, Norman, Okla.

INTO that voluminous compilation of codes drafted under the NRA, Angus McDonald, Norman graduate student, has delved to unearth "Sex Differentials of the NRA Codes." The extensive research which took the student through 300 codes was done for a part of his master's thesis, and was published in the current issue of EQUAL RIGHTS, official organ of the National Woman's Party.

McDonald draws conclusions both favorable and unfavorable to women workers affected by the codes.

"It is seen," he writes, "that wages under the codes afford women in many cases only a bare sustenance; that women are

subject to almost every kind of discrimination.

"But it should also be noted that woman's possibility in the industrial world is appreciably better than it was before the NRA. It is no small achievement that the principle of equal pay for the same work has been written into over one-half of the approved codes. It is also significant that a much larger proportion of the later codes have incorporated this provision than the first ones.

"While sex discrimination still exists, it is now subject to limitation. For the first time it is known definitely to what extent and in what industries such discrimination is in effect. Before the NRA there was no limit imposed."

In his criticism of many of the codes affecting women, McDonald points out that the administration has not pursued a consistent policy either in regard to wages, hours or night work.

"The 'same work, equal pay' clause has been curiously omitted from a number of codes," he contends.

"This inconsistency is reflected in the multitudinous rules which have been inserted in the codes. The wages, in some cases, are as low as $0.14 per hour, and in others the minimum wage for males is $0.15 more per hour than it is for women.

"The fact that each region, each city of a certain size, each sex and each industry was considered separately has resulted in various gradations with women nearly always drawing the lower wage."

McDonald cites as another reason for the prevailing condition in the codes, the fact that the pre-code condition of women's wages was relatively low, and that men have always been paid higher wages in most industries.

"Again," he writes, "women are not organized as well as men and were not prepared to exert their collective bargaining power at the time the codes were formulated. They were therefore not influential enough to obtain equality in wages."

Of the first 300 codes which McDonald examined he found that 166 of them contain the provision that when women do substantially the same work they shall receive the same rate of pay.

"But this," he finds, "has not prevented discriminations in regard to wages. Ninety-one, or nearly one-third of the first 300 codes, provide for a higher minimum wage for men than for women. The differentials vary from $0.02½ to $0.15 per hour. Four of the codes provide a percentage differential."

In his paper McDonald cites specific codes wherein no provisions are made for equal pay for women doing substantially the same work as men.

He also discloses that several codes have both regional and sex wage differentials. The regional difference is between the North and South, he reveals.

Other facts unearthed are that night work for women is prohibited in only six of the codes, and that there is only one code which prohibits women from working as many hours as men.

News from the Field

Acclaims Equal Rights Candidate

ASSERTING that out of five candidates who are running for the Governorship of Maryland one has included an Equal Rights plank in his platform, Helen Elizabeth Brown, President of the Business and Professional Women's Council of Maryland and a Republican, in a speech before the Banaca Club of Baltimore last Friday, assailed Senator Goldsborough, who is also a Republican candidate for Governor, for his stand on discriminatory labor legislation.

The nominee whose platform includes the Equal Rights plank, Miss Brown said, is H. Webster Smith. The plank reads: "Equal Rights, privileges and opportunities for women."

"Women must be constantly on the alert to protect their interests, she said, "especially in these times when every opportunity is seized to discriminate against them. Only last night on the radio Senator Goldsborough was actually boasting that when he was Governor of Maryland he had initiated industrial legislation for women. Industrial legislation for women only is one of the rankest injustices ever perpetrated against them. When you take one special group of workers and restrict them as to hours and wages, you are removing them, as a group, from competition and taking the bread and butter out of their mouths.

"Senator Goldsborough will not get my vote in the coming primary, or the vote of any other Republican woman who is interested in justice to her sex, in order to place him in a position where he can further discriminate against women. He has never been friendly to them or their interests during his long career of office holding. Antiquated and petrified ideas should have no place in the government of Maryland. The State has been going backwards long enough.

"One of the most shameful and humiliating facts we have to face is that Maryland women vote only because thirty-six other States ratified the Women's Suffrage Amendment. Maryland never has ratified it. But what is more shameful still is that the same Administration that prevented its ratification is still in power in this State and has maintained that position with the help of women's votes. This is a situation I have never been able to fathom.

"Women have a tremendous stake in the Primary Election on September 12 and the General Election in November. In casting your ballot it is well to search your memory and reward your friends and punish your enemies. It is only by carrying out this policy that women will make any progress."

Mrs. Matthews Heads National Bar

BURNITA SHELTON MATTHEWS, general counsel of the National Woman's Party, has been elected President of the National Association of Women Lawyers, succeeding Olive Stott Gabriel of New York. The election took place, August 28, at the annual convention of the Association in Chicago.

Mrs. Matthews, who has been practicing law since 1920, and has been a resident of Washington since 1918, was born December 28, 1894, in Burnell, Miss., and attended the National University Law School in Washington.

Mrs. Matthews has written numerous monographs, pamphlets and magazine articles on laws relating to women, and has been active in securing Equal Rights for her sex. She is the author of many laws advancing women's status, including the District law allowing women to serve on juries, and is a member of the commission of experts on women's work in the International Labor Office. She is a professor of law in the Washington College of Law and head of the firm of Matthews, Berrien & Greathouse in Washington.

Mrs. Matthews' recent argument in favor of the Equal Rights Amendment at the meeting in the spring of the General Federation of Women's Clubs attracted nation-wide attention and was largely responsible for the passage of a resolution by the Federation, which places the Amendment on the Federation's program of study for the coming year.

Subscribe for EQUAL RIGHTS

$2.00 a Year

19 West Chase Street Baltimore, Md.

DAY PRINTING COMPANY
PUBLICATIONS AND BOOKS
600 East Lombard Street
Baltimore, Md.